

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 139759

FROM NEA/IRN

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: SHUM, IR

SUBJECT:IRAN EVALUATION PLAN

REFERENCE: STATE 133681

1. STARTING IN PARAGRAPH TWO IS OUR FIRST DRAFT OF THE
"IRAN EVALUATION PLAN" ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH RIGIDLY FOL-
LWS THE APPROVED FORMAT OF THIS EXERCISE. THE DRAFT HAS
NOT BEEN SHOWN TO SID OR ANYONE OUTSIDE THIS OFFICE. WE
WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMMENTS BY COB, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22,
SO WE CAN GET NECESSARY CLEARANCES AND HAVE FINAL DRAFT
READY FOR ROY BY WEEKEND. PLEASE SLUG YOUR COMMENTS FOR
NEA/IRN ONLY.

2. IRAN IS A RAPIDLY MODERNIZING COUNTRY IN WHICH THERE
HAVE BEEN, PARTICULARLY IN THE LAST TWO DECADES, VAST
SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES. THOSE DEVELOP-
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MENTS ARE, HOWEVER, ONLY THE BEGINNING OF IRAN'S
MODERNIZATION; ANCIENT TRADITIONS, CENTURIES OF POVERTY,
WIDESPARED ILLITERACY AND EXTERNAL THREATS STILL AFFECT
MUCH OF THE THRUST OF IRANIAN LIFE. ANY CONSIDERATION OF
IRANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BEGIN WITHIN THAT CONTEXT.

A. CONDITIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN

1. RESPECT FOR INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON

AS FAR AS US OBJECTIVES ARE CONCERNED, THIS IS THE CRUCIAL ASPECT OF IRANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES. INVOLVED ARE IRAN'S PENAL AND COURT SYSTEMS AND PROCEDURES WHICH ARE MODELED ON FRENCH PRACTICES: (1) THE CIVILIAN SYSTEM, WHICH IS CONSIDERED GENERALLY COMMENDABLE BY OBSERVERS; AND (2) A SEPARATE MILITARY COURT SYSTEM AND RELATED POLICE ACTIVITIES WHICH HANDLE, AMONG OTHERS, CRIMES RELATED TO STATE SECURITY. IT IS IN SOME ASPECTS OF THE LATTER SYSTEM AS IT IS USED IN STATE SECURITY CASES WHERE IRAN FALLS SHORT OF CERTAIN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS -- AND WHERE THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN RECENT MONTHS.

(A) ARREST, INITIAL CHARGES AND CONFINEMENT IN STATE SECURITY CASES, IRANIAN LAW COMBINES IN ONE ORGANIZATION -- SAVAK (THE STATE ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE) -- THE DUTIES OF BOTH THE POLICE AND AN ORIGINAL MAGISTRATE. IN SUCH CASES, SAVAK HAS THE AUTHORITY TO ARREST ANYONE SUSPECTED OF INVOLVEMENT IN A CRIME AGAINST STATE SECURITY, CARRY OUT AN INITIAL INVESTIGATION, AS IN THE FRENCH SYSTEM, AND DETERMINE INITIAL CHARGES. THE INDIVIDUALS CHARGED ARE SOMETIMES HELD FOR UNSPECIFIED PERIODS UP TO SEVERAL MONTHS WHILE FURTHER INVESTIGATION CONTINUES. DURING THAT INITIAL DETENTION, COUNSEL IS NOT PROVIDED FOR THE DETAINEE AND CONTACT WITH FAMILY AND FRIENDS IS PROHIBITED OR SEVERELY CONFIDENTIAL

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RESTRICTED.

(B) TORTURE: THE IRANIAN PENAL CODE PROHIBITS TORTURE AND PROVIDES FOR SEVERE PENALTIES IN CONNECTION WITH ITS USE. DESPITE THIS, THERE HAVE BEEN OVER THE YEARS REPORTS ABOUT THE USE OF TORTURE IN CONNECTION WITH STATE SECURITY CASES -- PARTICULARLY TERRORIST ACTIONS. THE SHAH HAS PUBLICLY STATED THAT TORTURE HAS BEEN USED IN THE PAST, BUT INSISTS THAT IT IS NO LONGER PRACTICED. WE HAVE NO DIRECT EVIDENCE TO CONTRADICT THE SHAH AND, IN FACT, ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE USE OF TORTURE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED IN THE PAST FEW YEARS.

(C) TRIALS: IN THESE STATE SECURITY TRIALS, COUNSEL FOR THE ACCUSED IS PROVIDED ONLY FROM A LIST OF MILITARY LAWYERS, SOME OF WHOM MAY NOT BE WELL-QUALIFIED. FROM 1972 UNTIL EARLY 1977, ALL STATE SECURITY TRIALS WERE HELD IN CAMERA, BUT IN APRIL 1977 THE FIRST SUCH TRIAL IN FIVE YEARS WAS OPENED TO THE PUBLIC, INCLUDING

THE PRESS AND FOREIGNERS. A RESTRICTED APPEALS SYSTEM APPLYING TO MILITARY COURT DECISIONS IS ALSO A CONCERN. SUCH DECISIONS ARE APPEALED TO A MILITARY APPELLANT COURT, BUT ARE NOT SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY THE CIVILIAN SUPREME COURT OR OTHER CIVILIAN COURTS UNLESS THE SHAH AUTHORIZES IT. THE SHAH HAS FINAL REVIEW OF ALL MILITARY COURT DECISIONS AND HAS ON OCCASION LESSENED SENTENCES.

2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES

(A) FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, RELIGION AND ASSEMBLY: THERE IS A WIDE DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION IN IRAN, THE EXCEPTIONS BEING ADVOCACY OF COMMUNISM AND ATTACKS ON THE CONSTITUTION AND THE SHAH. THERE IS A STATUTORY BASIS FOR PRESS CENSORSHIP, BUT FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS OF MANY VIEWPOINTS ARE WIDELY SOLD AND READ. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SHIA SECT OF ISLAM PREDOMINATES IN IRAN, BUT THE COUNTRY IS PROUD OF ITS LONG HISTORY OF ACCEPTANCE OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES AND THE FREEDOM OF ALL TO PRACTICE THEIR FAITH. RESTRICTIONS ON THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY EXIST, CHIEFLY HAVING TO DO WITH GROUPS WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS POLITICALLY DANGEROUS.

(B) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT: WITH VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS (E.G. THE NEED FOR A WIFE TO OBTAIN HER HUSBAND'S PERMISSION TO TRAVEL ABROAD), IRANIANS ENJOY BROAD FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND ABROAD.

(C) DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES: IRAN HAS ONE POLITICAL PARTY AND A PARLIAMENT CHOSEN BY DIRECT POPULAR VOTE. THE PARTY AND PARLIAMENT, HOWEVER, DO NOT HAVE EXTENSIVE POWER AND IMPORTANT DECISIONS ARE MADE BY THE SHAH.

3. RECENT TRENDS IN FULFILLING BASIC NEEDS

MEETING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF IRANIANS HAS BEEN EMPHASIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR NEARLY TWO DECADES, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE SHAH GAINED SECURE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE EARLY 1960S AND INSTITUTED MAJOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND A REFORM PROGRAM KNOWN AS THE SHAH-PEOPLE REVOLUTION.

IRAN HAS HAD CAREFULLY-STRUCTURED FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLANS SINCE THE LATE 1940S, BUT IT HAS BEEN ONLY SINCE THE 73 INCREASE IN OIL PRICES THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS HAD SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL RESOURCES. ROUGHLY TWO-THIRDS OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT'S TOTAL SPENDING IN THE

PERIOD 1973-78 CAN BE CLASSIFIED AS OUTLAY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS.

THE SHAH-PEOPLE REVOLUTION HAS COVERED MANY FIELDS. A MAJOR LAND DISTRIBUTION AND REFORM PROGRAM, INITIATED
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IN THE EARLY 1960S, ENDED IRAN'S TRADITIONAL FEUDALISM AND BENEFICIALLY AFFECTED AT LEAST A THIRD OF THE POPULATION. AN EARLY REFORM INVOLVED A PROFIT-SHARING SCHEME FOR WORKERS AND THE NEWEST ADDITION TO THE PROGRAM COVERS A STOCK DIVESTITURE SYSTEM TO PASS 49 PERCENT OF THE OWNERSHIP OF CERTAIN INDUSTRIES TO WORKERS AND FARMERS. A LITERACY CORPS HAS HELPED OVER TWO MILLION IRANIANS LEARN TO READ AND WRITE. A SIMILAR PROGRAM RELATED TO HEALTH HAS HELPED MOVE THE SERVICES OF DOCTORS AND NURSES OUT INTO RURAL AREAS. DURING THE PAST 15 YEARS, LIFE EXPECTANCY HAS INCREASED FROM 41 TO 55 YEARS. AN EXTENSION AND DEVELOPMENT CORPS GIVES BASIC TECHNICAL

ADVICE TO THE RURAL POOR. HOUSES OF EQUITY HAVE BEEN FORMED IN MANY VILLAGES TO PROVIDE COURT SERVICE IN MINOR CASES COVERING A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS.

MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE TO MEET HUMAN NEEDS IN IRAN, BUT THE SIGNIFICANT FACT IS THAT ACHIEVING THAT GOAL IS A MAJOR COMMITMENT OF THE SHAH AND HIS GOVERNMENT.

CORRUPTION: CORRUPTION HAS BEEN EXTENSIVE IN IRAN, BUT THE SHAH HAS INITIATED ACTIONS AIMED AT CONTROLLING THE

SITUATION. A FEW VERY SENIOR OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM OFFICE BECAUSE OF CORRUPTION AND GIVEN LONG JAIL SENTENCES. THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT'S CONCERN ABOUT CORRUPTION IS EXEMPLIFIED BY ITS STRONG SUPPORT OF OUR UN EFFORT TO GET AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON CORRUPTION AND THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS OF AN IRANIAN OFFICIAL WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO ACHIEVE A BILATERAL AGREEMENT ON THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON POSSIBLE CORRUPTION.

4. GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY AND EXPLANATIONS

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THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN ACCEPTS FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL

OF THE ABOVE GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES. ITS JUSTIFICATION FOR THOSE RELATED TO STATE SECURITY CRIMES IS SIMPLE AND STRAIGHT-FORWARD: IRAN HAS A SMALL, BUT DANGEROUS GROUP OF TERRORISTS; ITS MEMBERS HAVE CARRIED OUT SERIOUSLY DESTRUCTIVE ACTS INVOLVING THE MURDER OF SENIOR IRANIAN OFFICIALS AND SIX AMERICANS; THE TERRORISTS REMAIN INTENT ON CONTINUING SUCH A CAMPAIGN, AND VIGILANCE IN PROTECTING STATE AUTHORITY AGAINST THIS CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER IS THE PRUDENT COURSE. ALSO, IRAN HAS SUFFERED TWICE IN THIS CENTURY FROM RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF PARTS OF IRAN AND THE IRANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY NEARLY SUCCEEDED IN GAINING CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE EARLY 1950S. AS A RESULT OF THAT HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE AND CONTINUED CONCERN OVER COMMUNIST SUBVERSION, ADVOCACY OF COMMUNISM IS ILLEGAL AS AN ACT AGAINST STATE SECURITY.

5. OUTSIDE INVESTIGATIONS

PRIOR TO THIS YEAR AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS ISSUED REPORTS ON THE IRANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS USEFUL GOI COOPERATION WITH THE ICJ, IN GENERAL THE GOI HAD NOT OPENED DOORS TO SUCH GROUPS AND HAD SPECIFICALLY DEVELOPED AN UNCOOPERATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL BECAUSE OF THAT ORGANIZATION'S EXAGGERATED REPORTS CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN. DURING EARLY 1977, THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN IRANIAN COOPERATION WITH OUTSIDERS INTERESTED IN HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SHAH HAS RECEIVED SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ABOVE TWO ORGANIZATIONS, FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAVE ATTENDED A STATE SECURITY TRIAL AND INTERVIEWED POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE GOI HAS PERMITTED AN INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TEAM TO INSPECT IRANIAN PRISONS. SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS HAVE INDICATED THAT THIS ENCOURAGING POLICY OF INCREASED OPENESS WILL CONTINUE.

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B. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. US OBJECTIVES AND COURSES OF ACTION

THE NEW EMPHASIS IN US FOREIGN POLICY ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS FORTUITOUSLY COINCIDED WITH A GROWING AWARENESS ON THE PART OF IRANIAN LEADERS THAT IN THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE IRAN HAS AN UNSATISFACTORY IMAGE WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. ALTHOUGH THE SHAH AND OTHER IRANIANS HAVE BEEN NETTLED BY WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO BE GROSS DISTORTIONS OF THE FACTS, THERE HAS BEEN A CLEAR RECOGNITION THAT

STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO IMPROVE IRAN'S IMAGE BY NOT ONLY PRESENTING MORE INFORMATION ON IRAN'S EFFORTS TO IMPROVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, BUT ALSO IN FACT TO BEGIN INSTITUTING CHANGES IN THE JUDICIAL PROCESS OF SECURITY PRISONERS. THE INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY IS ALSO SOMEWHAT IMPROVED -- ALTHOUGH THE TERRORIST GROUPS RETAIN THE ABILITY TO CARRY OUT ASSASSINATIONS.

OUR OVERALL APPROACH, THEREFORE, SHOULD BE TO CAPITALIZE ON THE CURRENT MOOD IN TEHRAN AND CONTINUE TO NUDGE THE GOI IN THE DIRECTION IT IS ALREADY LEANING. FOR SOME TIME TO COME WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE OUR ACTIONS TOWARD THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE PROCEDURES OF THE MILITARY COURTS SO THAT THE RIGHTS OF THE ACCUSED WILL BE BETTER PROTECTED.

WE WILL ENCOURAGE THE GOI:

- TO EXPAND ITS RECENT SIGNIFICANTLY MORE OPEN APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACTIVITIES SUCH AS STATE SECURITY TRIALS, AMNESTIES AND OUTSIDE CONTACTS WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS.

- TO CONTINUE AND INCREASE IRANIAN CONTACTS WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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RESPONSIBLE FOREIGNERS INTERESTED IN IMPROVEMENTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

- TO REMAIN RECEPTIVE AT THE MOST SENIOR GOI LEVELS TO FRANK, UNDERSTANDING TALKS ABOUT USG HUMAN RIGHTS

POLICIES AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO IRAN; AND

- TO HALT ANY REMAINING HARSH TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

BEYOND THESE INITIAL BROAD OBJECTIVES, THE USG SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE GOI TO CORRECT ACTIVITIES RELATED TO SOME OF OUR VERY SPECIFIC CONCERNS ABOUT RESPECT FOR INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON. WILLIAM J. BUTLER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS RECENTLY SUGGESTED SEVERAL RELEVANT STEPS, SUCH AS REPORTING STATE SECURITY ARRESTS TO THE PROSECUTOR GENERAL, BRINGING THOSE ARRESTED BEFORE INDEPENDENT CIVILIAN MAGISTRATES FOR IMMEDIATE ARRAIGNMENT AND DISCONTINUING POLICE INTERROGATION FROM THE TIME THAT SUSPECTS ARE BROUGHT BEFORE AN EXAMINING MAGISTRATE. HE FOUND THE SHAH GENERALLY RESPONSIVE TO HIS SUGGESTIONS. BUTLER AND THE ICJ HAVE PLACED THEMSELVES AS THE "POINT MEN" AND WE SHOULD DO WHAT WE CAN QUIETLY TO ASSIST THEM IN ACHIEVING THEIR PRINCIPLE OBJECTIVES.

SPECIFICALLY, WE WILL ENCOURAGE THE GOI:

- TO BEGIN TO BREAK THE LINK BETWEEN THE DUAL ROLES OF SAVAK OFFICERS AS POLICE AND PROSECUTORS ON THE ONE HAND AND MAGISTRATES ON THE OTHER.

- TO PERMIT APPEALS OF MILITARY COURT DECISIONS TO THE CIVILIAN COURT OF CASSATION.

- TO PERMIT THE UNIMPEDED SELECTION OF COMPETENT CIVILIAN

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COUNSEL BY THOSE CHARGED WITH STATE SECURITY CRIMES FROM THE TIME THEY ARE FIRST ARRESTED THROUGH ANY EVENTUAL TRIAL.

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- TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO WAYS IN WHICH AT LEAST SOME CATEGORIES OF STATE SECURITY CASES COULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE CIVILIAN COURTS. (THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SUCH ACTION MAY BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR IRAN TO ACCEPT.)

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- TO COOPERATE WITH US OBJECTIVES ON THE US HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, INCLUDING BROADENING THE SCOPE OF THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE.

TO ACCOMPLISH THESE OBJECTIVES, THE FOLLOWING COURSES OF USG ACTION SHOULD BE FOLLOWED:

- CONTINUE THE HIGH PRIORITY GIVEN BY THE EMBASSY STAFF TO HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS.

- DISCUSS ON APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS US VIEWS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELECTED ITEMS FROM THE ABOVE OBJECTIVES LIST WITH ALL EFFECTIVE GOI LEVELS, INCLUDING THE SHAH, AND WITH IMPORTANT IRANIAN OPINION MAKERS.

- BE PREPARED IN THESE BILATERAL EXCHANGES TO COMMENT FAVORABLY ON SIGNIFICANT GOI POLICY IMPROVEMENTS RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

- -

- MEET WITH PRIVATE US ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS INTERESTED IN THE IRANIAN SITUATION TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION, GIVE GUIDANCE RELATED TO THE ABOVE US OBJECTIVES AND ADD BALANCE TO PRIVATE PROJECTS HAVING TO DO WITH IRAN.

- MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE BRITISH ON HUMAN RIGHTS

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MATTERS.

2. IRANIAN REACTIONS

IN IRAN, OFFICIAL, PUBLIC REACTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS AND TO US POLICY ON THE SUBJECT HAS GENERALLY FOLLOWED TWO LINES -- ONE CONCEPTUAL AND THE OTHER PRACTICAL. THE FORMER HAS EMPHASIZED IRAN'S INTERNAL "HUMAN NEEDS" AHEAD

OF "HUMAN RIGHTS" AND HAS PLAYED UP ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, INCLUDING UN ISSUES, AS OPPOSED TO THE POLITICAL.

AT THE MORE PRACTICAL LEVEL, IRAN'S REACTION (WITHOUT MAKING ANY CONNECTION TO US POLICIES ON THE SUBJECT) HAS INCLUDED MAKING SOME SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN GOVERNMENTAL PRACTICES RELATED TO RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON AND TO A GENERALLY MORE OPEN APPROACH TO THE ENTIRE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SOME OF THESE CHANGES HAVE BEEN LISTED IN THE ABOVE SECTIONS.

ANOTHER ELEMENT IN IRANIAN REACTION HAS BEEN STRONG PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS BY THE SHAH AND OTHERS ABOUT THE SECURITY DANGER WHICH THE COUNTRY FACES IN THE TERRORIST GROUPS THERE AND ABOUT THE GOI'S CONCLUSION THAT THAT DANGER CANNOT BE EFFECTIVELY HANDLED BY PUSSYFOOTING ABOUT LEGAL NICETIES.

THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A CHIEFLY PRIVATE IRANIAN REACTION WHICH IS NOTEWORTHY. IT INVOLVES DISPARAGEMENT OF CERTAIN US HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES AND THE RAISING OF RELATED US PROBLEMS SUCH AS SECURITY IN URBAN CENTERS.

ON BALANCE, THESE REACTIONS ARE ON THE PLUS SIDE AS FAR AS US OBJECTIVES ARE CONCERNED AND INDICATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LINE SO FAR PURSUED BY US OFFICIALS.

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3. US INTERESTS IN IRAN

CLOSE US-IRANIAN COOPERATION HAS EXISTED FOR NEARLY 30 YEARS. IT NOW COVERS A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS INCLUDING SUCH KEY ONES AS PETROLEUM AFFAIRS, ARMS TRANSFERS, COMMERCIAL INTERESTS, PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE

REGION, THE DETERRENCE OF SOVIET GOALS AND US INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. THE SUM OF THOSE AND OTHER US INTERESTS MAKES THE US-IRANIAN RELATIONSHIP OF MAJOR REGIONAL IMPORTANCE TO THE US. US ACTIONS RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE CARRIED OUT WITH THOSE BROAD INTERESTS IN MIND.

IRANIANS ARE HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO FOREIGN "INTERFERENCE" AND A TOO-AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN RELATED TO US HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES COULD QUICKLY NULLIFY THE CURRENT ENCOURAGING IRANIAN DEVELOPMENTS AND THEN LEAD TO COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IRANIAN STEPS. AMONG THE IRANIAN OPTIONS, IF THE COUNTRY IS PUSHED TOO HARD, ARE THE

REDUCTION OF GENERAL COOPERATION WITH THE US, TAKING UNFAVORABLE ACTION INVOLVING THE PETROLEUM INTERESTS OF THE US AND ITS MAJOR ALLIES, REDUCING IRAN'S FRUITFUL ACTIVITIES RELATED TO REGIONAL POLITICAL STABILITY AND SECURITY AND REDUCING THE LEVEL OF IMPORTANT US ACTIVITIES AND PRIVILEGES IN IRAN.

US POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN DURING RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN MADE UP OF AN EFFECTIVE MIX OF QUIET PRESSURES RELATED TO BROAD US POLICY AND SPECIFIC GOI ACTIVITIES AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE IRANIAN SITUATION. ITS SUCCESSES CLEARLY INDICATE THAT IT HAS BEEN THE MOST EFFECTIVE POSSIBLE WAY TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD US OBJECTIVES. CHRISTOPHER

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